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9. Ibuban:

Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation: ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uñli; harvest from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Ali Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lāsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lāsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amserdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wārab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wārab. Custom of the amāchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Čalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amāchur as above, for the a. Čalh' only.

• [783] Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lārj (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amāchur for the a. Bihi.

[783] Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest: a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amāchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Abdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

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746 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1):

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1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

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A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

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[798] One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

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2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function. [182] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ hu- [183] man sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

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782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

• [783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

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1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anani, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

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/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret. Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796 Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas
782 of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at
182 sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and
(785) skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At
(783) sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameqluh't, the head of the animal is
carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communal aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

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3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi 'Ali n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.